

THE EASTERN CHURCHES QUARTERLY

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London Agents : Geo. E. J. Coldwell, Ltd., 17 Red Lion Square,
Holborn, London, W.C.1, to whom all subscriptions are to
be paid, except those from U.S.A.

U.S.A. Agent : The Secretary, Catholic Near East Welfare
Association, 480 Lexington Avenue, New York 17, N.Y.

Literary Communications, Exchanges, and Books for Review
should be addressed to the Editor E.C.Q., St. Augustine's
Abbey, Ramsgate.

THE EASTERN CHURCHES QUARTERLY

(Continuation of *Eastern Churches Number of "Pax,"*
founded 1931.)

VOL. VI

JULY-SEPTEMBER, 1945

No. 3

LITURGICAL PUBLICATIONS OF THE CONGREGATION FOR THE EASTERN CHURCH¹

AT an audience on February 8th, 1930, Pope Pius XI approved the setting-up of a liturgical commission within the Sacred Congregation for the Eastern Church which was given the task of reviving and furthering the work, begun in the seventeenth century, of a certain commission engaged on the revision of the Maronite Missal. This work was continued first by special departments of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide and then, during the eighteenth and part of the nineteenth centuries, by the Congregation for the Correction of Eastern Liturgical Books, specially instituted by Clement XI in 1719. This congregation functioned with periods of inactivity until 1840; it was finally suppressed by Pius IX in 1862 and replaced by a more general department of the Congregation of Propaganda "for the Affairs of the Eastern Rites."

During the course of this long activity these various congregations successfully brought out a good many editions, their special concern being the five fundamental rites of the Eastern church, viz., the Coptic-Alexandrian, the Antiochene, the Armenian, the Byzantine and the Chaldean rites. The series of liturgical books for the Coptic-Alexandrian rite and the Byzantine rite in Greek were almost completely published, the remaining rites being represented merely by a few books. The Congregation of Propaganda itself had

¹ *Editor's Note.*—This is a translation of an article sent to us in July by Father Cyril Korolevskij.

continued this activity in a sporadic fashion during the first half of the nineteenth century, and the new Eastern department inaugurated by Pius IX promoted the work still further by publishing, between 1873 and 1901, a new edition of the books of the Byzantine rite in Greek, which needed scarcely more than the addition of the *Typikon* and the *Synaxarion* to make them quite complete.

It was necessary to continue this work and to perfect it, sometimes indeed to re-orientate it on completely different bases. The early Roman editions had certainly been correct from the point of view of dogma, but occasionally they failed to interpret the purity of the rite, and above all the manner of its application. After having hesitated, during the middle ages, on the attitude to adopt with regard to the Eastern rites, the Holy See finally stated at the beginning of the seventeenth century the principle from which it has never since deviated: these rites must be maintained in their integrity. However, in the application of this principle, so wholeheartedly proclaimed, theological theories that are now abandoned were given practical application, and there was a poor understanding of what is meant by purity of rite. The previous centuries had found it difficult to admit that Confirmation could be administered by a simple priest, that the formulae for the consecration of the bread and wine could differ even slightly from those of the Roman Missal, that those of the eucharistic epiclesis could be maintained as they stood, that delivery of the instruments of office is not one of the essential rites of Ordination, that a simple priest could bless the holy oils (other than chrism), and further things of this kind. Moreover, often through the efforts of the interested parties themselves rather than through Western pressure, translations of prayers from the official books of the Roman church and even from private devotions had found their way into the liturgical books, even though the Eastern rites possess equivalent formulas, and without even a preliminary adaptation in conformity with the style of these same rites. From another point of view, in the early editions the characteristics of the manuscripts had been too closely preserved: unfamiliar rubrics, not always clearly expressed, an abundance of cross-references, too many calls made on the memory of the officiating priest for the text of the prayers, and that at a period when the wide distribution of printing had considerably diminished the exercise of this

faculty; in a sentence, there was sometimes a lack of co-ordination between the different books of the same rite, and in some instances a real disorder in the classification of texts. In this respect, the splendid editions of liturgical books produced by experienced printers like Dessain, Pustet, Desclée, Mame and others provided a model which they had only to follow, whilst preserving the traditional character of the Eastern books.

All this was difficult to realize before our epoch. At first sight it might be thought strange that the Holy See should insist more and more upon its right to give at least first assent to the Eastern liturgical texts, instead of delegating this concern to the orientals themselves. In point of fact, not to mention the absolute guarantee it gives in matters of dogmatic orthodoxy, this manner of procedure offers numerous advantages. Specialists in the Eastern rites were very rare at Rome until the beginning of this century: a proof of this is seen in the members of the commissions for the revision of the different books. With the exception of one or, more rarely, two members—who, moreover, had only a working knowledge of their rite without any previous scientific formation—the rest were Latinists, good theologians, good canonists, sometimes well versed in textual criticism, but all belonging to a rite very different from those of the East, knowing well neither its spirit nor its finer shades of meaning nor its liturgical subtleties. They had, besides, only very insufficient materials at their disposition. It is true that the Vatican library, to speak only of that, comprises incomparable treasures in manuscripts and early editions; Propaganda and the particular congregations which formed part of it had proceeded to work on a quite considerable scale, directing all their efforts to the collation of texts and to the production of Latin translations as exact as possible for the languages not so well-known as Greek; but this was done with the help of only much abridged catalogues and little reference to sources to be found scattered in various public records not then made freely available to scholars and seekers after truth. At the Vatican itself many printed books were neither classified nor listed, and some languages important from the liturgical point of view, such as Church Slavonic and Rumanian, were very poorly represented.

All that has been changed during the last sixty years or so. By order of Leo XIII and of his successors catalogues

of all the Vatican manuscripts have been published or are on the way to completion, and these catalogues, by their scientific exactitude and their attention to minute detail, are models which one can say, without fear of exaggeration, are unsurpassed elsewhere. All the early printed matter has been carefully sorted and catalogued, and a scientific mission sent by Pius XI in 1923-24 brought back a considerable number of ancient Slavonic and Rumanian books. The Pontifical Institute for Eastern Studies, founded by Benedict XV in 1917, possesses to-day a library of more than 50,000 volumes, of which many are liturgical texts in Greek, Slavonic and other languages. The rich archives of Propaganda, at one time kept strictly shut, are to-day open to all. Rome numbers to-day among its scholars several specialists in the various Eastern rites (the word "Eastern" being understood in its widest sense) and amongst these is a good number not merely of theorists or of pure philologists but of ecclesiastics who themselves belong to these rites, live by them, and practise them regularly in churches which the supreme authority is striving to make more conformable, wherever the need arises, to their new purpose. Supplied with abundant materials, this personnel, dependent directly upon the Sovereign Pontiff, enjoys the inestimable advantage of being freed from the pressure of little local passions, which sometimes impede the most legitimate reforms; being comprised of varied ethnical elements, it is able to proceed forthwith to textual comparisons and criticisms in several idioms, which for a rite comprising several liturgical languages (as the Byzantine, for example) proves to be of great value in determining the true tradition for a given office: and this achievement, it must be said, would be almost inconceivable elsewhere than at Rome.

§

The first edition undertaken by the liturgical commission of the Congregation for the Eastern Church was that of the Greek Horology of the Byzantine rite. It was a question of recasting the 1876 edition, which itself was a more or less textual reproduction of the Venetian edition of 1871; the last-named was the work of non-Catholic Greeks and represented, at least in the Menology or calendar of the saints, a not very reliable tradition.

This book contains, besides the essential ordinary of the Divine Office for the day and night as in the first part of the Roman Breviary, the two *troparia* appointed for each day, both for the ferial and the office of the saint, and several supplements which, in languages other than Greek, vary according to the versions, but with the Greeks have remained almost unaltered for four centuries. The 1876 Roman edition was inconvenient in the following respects¹: in the interests of economy the editor, the Lord Stephen Stefanopoli, titular metropolitan of Philippi and ordaining prelate for the Byzantine rite in Rome, had multiplied the cross-references unrestrainedly and suppressed the extracts from the Synaxis.² Moreover, as a general directive purpose had been lacking in the big collection of Greek liturgical books formerly undertaken by Propaganda, the *troparia* for each day did not always correspond with those inserted in the monthly menologies or variable sections for each day of the year, which had been published afterwards. The new edition supplies all these defects: the cross-references are reduced to the minimum, concordance with the menologies has been re-established, at the same time keeping the *troparia* of the old edition for those who have grown accustomed to it. But the chief innovation is a painstaking revision, as regards historical criticism, of the short notes taking the place of the Synaxis. It was necessary sometimes to re-write them completely when one or other of the various editions of the Constantinopolitan Synaxarion, so successfully restored by the Bollandist, Father Hippolyte Delehaye (Brussels, 1902), did not offer sufficient guarantee of credibility. For many martyrs the note is reduced to a statement, still occasionally not fully verified, of the place and date of martyrdom; a certain number of names occurring in the old editions of the Horology had already been eliminated by Stephen Stefanopoli in 1876. Of the 580 still remaining, thirty more, based mostly on stories whose legendary character is to-day recognized, could easily have been suppressed; they have neverthe-

¹ Apart from its format, which was well suited to recitation in choir, but hardly practical for private reading, a practice which, whilst not being obligatory, has nevertheless been taken up by all the Catholic clergy.

² Brief notes on the chief saint commemorated on a given day: notes rather informally worded but having at least the advantage of fixing the attention and affording instruction when it is a question of a person not very well known.

less been retained so as not to shock established conventions : but the rigorous editor has not allowed any accompanying note to be written, however brief.

The volume, consisting of 1078 twelve-inch pages, printed in black and red on thin paper, came from the press of the Basilian monastery of St. Mary Odighitria at Grottaferrata near Rome, a place famed among scholars for its Greek manuscripts. It is now inhabited by Italo-Albanian monks and a number of Ruthenians, which latter fact accounts for this same monastery being entrusted with the printing of the Church Slavonic books, of which mention is made further on. To conclude this examination of the Greek Horology, it should be said that the work of revision and production, begun in 1931 immediately after the setting up of the liturgical commission, did not end until 1937; and this has remained the date of the edition.

In 1936 a section of the commission, with which were associated for the occasion specialists in Syriac and in the two Syrian rites, viz., the eastern or Chaldean, and western or Antiochene, undertook the revision of these particular Pontificals. After three years' work the revision of the first was complete, and had it not been for the war printing would have already begun at the patriarchal printing-works at Mosul, which has inherited the fine characters of the *estranghelo* type. This press was founded originally for the Dominican friars in the same town, and had enabled the Dominican mission in Mesopotamia to produce editions (in several cases the first in date) of the books of the Chaldean rite concerning the Eucharistic Sacrifice and the administration of the sacraments.

When this work had been finished the same section of the liturgical commission, refashioned on a slightly different basis, began in 1939 the revision of the pontifical of the West Syrians. These are divided between two churches : that of the Syrians in the strict geographical sense, and that of the Maronites of the Lebanon. Although the rite is one and the same, there are on this account two versions to make. It would have been preferable to attempt a unification, and this had been the original plan; but the orientals are so attached to their national particularities that it was thought better not to interfere with this sentiment, and the revision has been limited to the pontifical of the Syrians in the strict sense of the term. The Maronites will have the option

either of using this revised pontifical (which could be done with no other inconvenience than the abandonment of a certain number of textual or ceremonial variants), or to continue to make use of manuscripts, as they have done up to the present. It will be indeed the chief edition for both pontificals. The revision of the pontifical of the West Syrians has been virtually completed as these lines appear. A patriarchal commission nominated by Cardinal Mar Ignatius Gabriel Tappuni, the Syrian patriarch of Antioch, has been working upon its particular problems at Beirut, following the traditional methods of investigation and making use of the often very precious manuscripts housed at the patriarchal residence at Sharfeh. The two commissions keep in contact with each other as much as circumstances allow, and from their common effort the definitive text will emerge. Nothing has been neglected to ensure that as well as textual exactitude, a clear reading is arrived at; and to this end, besides the Vatican manuscripts, photographs of a very ancient codex at the National Library in Paris, have been taken and put at the disposition of the commission. A similar procedure had been adopted for the Chaldean pontifical.

Though it had been revised and re-arranged in the thirteenth century by the Patriarch Michael the Great,¹ the West Syrian pontifical still includes many very old prayers and rites. The pontifical of the eastern or Chaldean Syrians, which was developed during the middle ages by Nestorian liturgists, bears an even more evident stamp of antiquity: some of its formulas seem to go back to an epoch before the Constantinian peace. Dogmatic correction in both pontificals has kept pace with textual revision: but, apart from the elimination of a number of heretical names from the text of some prayers, there has been relatively little to correct. The most marked defect of these two pontificals is their rather great prolixity, but for this longwindedness (which is common to all the Eastern rites) the rubrics sometimes provide a remedy by indicating that such and such a passage is *ad libitum*, and the general practice—far from consistent it is true—allows the omission of sometimes quite long passages which, if recited or sung, would render the offices to-day insupportable

¹ Well known for his valuable Chronicle which was discovered by the Catholic Syrian Patriarch Mar Ignatius Ephraim Rahmani, and published and translated into French by Dr. J. B. Cabot.

beyond the confines of monasteries dedicated essentially to choral prayer. Instead of sanctioning arbitrary abridgements due mostly to private initiative and accomplished often without consideration of liturgical propriety, it would be preferable to maintain the text in its integrity, and to leave it to the particular authority whose right it is to intervene in a restraining capacity. Several times the Eastern Congregation, at the request of the persons concerned, has had to attend to abbreviations of this kind, and it has only set about them after detailed study on the part of specialists, so as to preserve all the truly constitutive parts in an abridged and still facultative rite.

Again on behalf of the Chaldeans, the Congregation for the Eastern Church produced in 1938 a very successful anastatic reproduction in black and red of the three volumes which the Lazarist Paul Bejan, himself of Chaldean origin, entitled in 1886-87 the *Chaldean Breviary*, and which he had had magnificently printed¹ by the firm of Wilhelm Drugulin at Leipzig. Up to that time use had been made of manuscripts, except for the common part of the office, which had been printed at Rome in 1842; and these manuscripts, occasionally of Nestorian origin and consequently not exempt from errors, were often incorrect. The division of the office into several books, as is customary in all the Eastern rites, did not present any disadvantages with regard to the choral office, and was specially convenient since it permitted the use of larger type, which could be more easily read by several persons at once; but it had the disadvantage of not providing each priest with a complete office. Moreover the offices of the East Syrians, seen in their manuscript form, are of a truly wearisome prolixity. Paul Bejan, with the encouragement of the Congregation of Propaganda, proceeded to make a suitable abridgement; he amended—occasionally, it must be admitted, with too great severity—the heretical passages, but laid himself open to criticism by endeavouring, with the help of the manuscripts at his disposal, which were unfortunately not of very great age, to obtain the best reading. He finally divided the whole into three volumes, corresponding to the three chief divisions of the Chaldean ecclesiastical year. It is regrettable that a part of the edition, insufficiently protected

¹ Thanks to the munificence of a benefactress who wished to remain anonymous.

in packing against the risks of transport on the then appalling roads from the Black Sea ports to the Chaldean mountains. was destroyed, a fact which has made copies rather rare, Anastatic reproduction has allowed the correction of several errors and the restoration of the vowel-breathings, which had occasionally disappeared in printing. The large 12-inch format is a little smaller than that of the preceding edition and necessitates a slight change in choral practice, but henceforth each priest will have a complete office-book to himself.

The use of this new breviary, for that is indeed what it forms, will gradually spread to the Catholics of the Malabar rite in South India, who have the same rite (though much changed by the Portuguese at the Synod of Udiamparur (Diamper) in 1595). They, about the middle of the nineteenth century, proceeded to make an abridgement of the Divine Office based on different criteria which were not always above criticism. The Congregation of the Eastern Church has decided gradually to restore its primitive rite to this branch of the Chaldean church. This consideration has been partly responsible for the decision to undertake forthwith the revision of the Pontifical in order to remedy the oddities (to call it by no other term) of seeing ordinations conferred in the Latin of the Roman *pontificale* in a church of the Eastern rite whose liturgical language is Syriac, other pontifical offices taking place in the same way.

To conclude with the developments of the Antiochene rite, the first step of a not less radical reform was taken in 1942, in the middle of war, by the publication of a new ritual for the use of the Maronites. Their rite is the same in substance as the Antiochene of the Syrians properly so called, but with a good many variants due to the autonomous development of the Maronite community in the eighth century, a period in which it separated from the rest of the patriarchate of Antioch. Under the influence of erroneous standards in vogue in the middle ages and of ill-inspired Western missionaries or Maronite clerics reared in Latin seminaries without careful liturgical formation, its liturgy has suffered considerable modification in its external aspect and even in its actual formulas: quite numerous translations of Latin, and ever Italian or French, texts have found their way into the liturgical books themselves (and invaded all that part of worship which is called in the West "extra-liturgical," a part which does not properly exist in Eastern rites). The Sacramentary, of which

the last edition is that produced in Rome in 1840, had not escaped these modifications. Happily, for the last few years a movement for a return to the purity of the primitive rite has begun to take shape amongst the more enlightened of the Maronite clergy. As it was an urgent question of producing a new edition of the ritual, the Congregation for the Eastern Church, with the strong support on this occasion of the Maronite patriarch, set about re-casting the whole. Two commissions, one Roman and the other Lebanese nominated by the patriarch, worked in close co-operation, and the result is a ritual based on the ancient manuscripts of Europe and the Lebanon, representing a more specifically Maronite recension, purified of hybridism, judiciously abridged in the parts that were too long-winded, and excellently printed in black and red by the famous printing press of the Jesuits at Beirut.

CYRIL KOROLEVSKIJ.

(To be concluded).

ST. BONAVENTURE AND DIVINE ILLUMINATION

THE notion of "light" plays a very large part in ancient religious mythology and also in the sacred scriptures, with this difference, however, that mythology often regards light itself as the supreme being, whereas the Old and New Testaments see in light only a symbol, but a very apt one, of the Godhead. We find this notion of "light" in the Vedas, the sacred books of the Hindus; in Heraclitus and the Stoics, where "light" is taken in a materialistic sense; and in Plato, who says that God is light because not only does he make all things visible and knowable but gives to all things their reality. The doctrine was considerably developed by Philo, who calls the creator of the visible world "light" (in an analogous sense), "the intellectual sun," "the archetypal splendour," "the light-giver emitting infinite rays" which are known not by the senses but by the intellect. As the eye cannot look upon the sun yet sees all other things only in its light, so the intellect cannot directly apprehend the

divine light yet sees all other things and all other truths only in that light. Plotinus and Proclus made great use of the notion. Turning to the sacred scriptures we find numerous passages which might be quoted, e.g., "The Lord is my light—*Dominus illuminatio mea*" (Psalm xxvi, 1); "That was the true light, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into this world" (John i, 9); "God is light, and in him there is no darkness" (1 John i, 5). After the Council of Nicaea the Fathers of the Church used the notion extensively; St. Augustine is the outstanding example. It occurs also in the works of Pseudo-Dionysius; it is found in the writings of Eriugena; Jewish and Arabic philosophy employed it and so did a number of the Scholastics, amongst them St. Bonaventure, of whose views we will give one or two examples, for it permeates his thought and is found on page after page of his works.

"All spiritual cognition takes place by reason of light and by reason of the uncreated light, as Augustine says in his 'Soliloquies'; but light is supremely knowable and God is the supreme light; therefore he is supremely knowable to the soul." (1 Sent. D. 3, p. 1, a. unic. q. 1). The statement that "all spiritual cognition takes place by reason of . . . the uncreated light," and many similar statements which are scattered throughout St. Bonaventure's works, especially in his "*Itinerarium Mentis in Deum*" and "*Collationes in Hexaëmeron*" were used by the Ontologists in attempts to invoke his authority in support of their own view that the human mind sees intelligible objects immediately in the Word or in the Divine Ideas. That he did not hold an ontologicistic theory of knowledge is shown by the Quaracchi editors of his works in a scholion appended to the question from which the above quotation is taken. Far from holding that immediate knowledge of God is essential to the intellect of man in his fallen state he teaches that neither men in the state of innocence, nor even the angels can, by their merely natural powers, have any immediate knowledge of God. As regards the angels, in discussing the question: "Whether an angel by natural cognition knew the divine essence in itself without any intermediary or the interposition of anything created," he concludes that it could not. (2 Sent. D. 3, p. 2, a. 2, q. 2). In treating this point he says a number of things which show that he is no Ontologist. He recalls that in the Gospel of St. John it is said: "This is eternal

life, that they know thee . . . God ” (John xvii, 3), from which he argues that supreme happiness consists in the vision of God, whence he concludes that if an angel had by nature the power to see God immediately it would by nature enjoy the Beatific Vision. Later he states categorically that the divine light, on account of its supreme excellence, is inaccessible to the powers of every created nature. As regards man many places are quoted by the Quaracchi editors to show that the saint did not hold that we see God directly and immediately in this life ; e.g., he treats the matter at some length when discussing the question “ Whether Adam in the state of innocence knew God in the same way as God is known in the state of glory.” His conclusion is that “ Adam in the state of innocence did not know God immediately and in his substance, as he is known in the state of glory, but through a glass, though not in a dark manner (*per speculum non autem in aenigmate*)”. ‘2 Sent. D. 23, a. 2, q. 3).

What does he mean when he says that the created intellect knows all truths “ in rationibus aeternis,” “ in the eternal divine ideas ” ? It is the common teaching of Scholastics that the truth, certainty and infallibility of human knowledge is to be traced back ultimately to God, the first, uncreated, subsistent Truth, the primary efficient and exemplar Cause of all things, intellects included. Truth is the equation of thought and thing ; but created things are equated to the divine thoughts ; hence a created mind, in acquiring truth, is proximately equated to the thing known and remotely, mediately, equated to the divine idea of that thing. Moreover God not only creates the light of the human mind after his own image and likeness ; he concurs in all its acts. The doctrine of divine concurrence is one of the most fascinating parts of theology yet one which often enough seems to be left in a water-tight compartment of the mind and seldom plays that vital and energising part in one’s whole outlook on the universe which a proper appreciation of it would inevitably produce. God concurs immediately in every operation of creatures ; God operates in every agent ; these are common Scholastic doctrines, yet too often in practice Catholics seem to have a deistic view of the world, to think of God as making the world and then leaving it to get along by itself, apart from an occasional intervention in answer to prayer. This of course is quite wrong ; God, as we

have said, operates in every agent, concurring immediately in every act of every creature. Now the creaturely acts with which we are particularly concerned here are those performed by the human mind. God's immediate concurrence in these can rightly be called an illumination of the intellect.

Perhaps the best way to give some idea of how St. Bonaventure regards creatures as a means by which we may come to the knowledge of God and may increase that knowledge will be to give a sample of one of the best-known of his works, the "*Itinerarium Mentis in Deum*." We will confine ourselves to the first two chapters and we can only give selections even from these. The saint packs such a wealth of ideas into such a few words that often pages could be written in unravelling one of his sentences. The play of his thought reminds one of the lightning flashing among mountain tops. To one accustomed to the calm, majestic flow of St. Thomas's style that of St. Bonaventure is at first somewhat disconcerting. The very profusion of the ideas which he flings out is embarrassing until one settles down to deal steadily and patiently with them and to take them to pieces. It is only then that one begins to realize the depth and wealth of his thought.

The "*Itinerarium*" is primarily a mystical work, but it contains much important matter pertaining to theology and philosophy. It consists of a prologue and seven chapters. The prologue opens with a prayer to "The First Principle, from whom all illuminations descend as from 'the father of lights' from whom is 'every best gift and every perfect gift,'" (cf. James i, 17), that he may grant that the eyes of our minds may be enlightened (cf. Ephes. i, 18), to direct our steps into the way of that peace which surpasseth all understanding (cf. Luke i, 79; Phil. iv, 7). The plan of the book, he says, was suggested to him on Mount Alverna by the thought of the six-winged seraph which appeared there to St. Francis, for that vision vouchsafed to the Poverello seemed to represent St. Francis's contemplative state and the way in which contemplation may be reached. The six wings of the seraph suggest the six illuminations by which as by so many steps the soul is prepared to pass into a state of peace.

In the first chapter he sketches out the plan of the whole work and then considers the knowledge of God which can

be acquired through the traces (*vestigia*) of him which abound in the world. In our present state the whole universe is a ladder by which we can ascend to God. Some things are traces of God ; others are images of God. The meaning of this is explained in his work entitled "*Breviloquium*," p. 11, c. 12, where he says that the world is like a book in which the creative Trinity is reflected in three degrees of intensity ; all creatures are traces of the Trinity, intellectual beings alone are images of the Trinity, beatified spirits are likenesses (*similitudines*) of the Trinity. In the "*Itinerarium*" he says that in our journey to God we must pass through the traces of him, which are corporeal and temporal and outside us ; we must enter into our own soul, which is the immortal, spiritual image of God, which is within us ; and thence we must rise to that which is eternal, most spiritual and above us, by gazing on the First Principle of all things, namely God. But because each of these three stages must be doubled, according as in them we consider creatures as a mirror through which (*per speculum*) and in which (*in speculo*) we can see God, we get six stages in the ascent of the mind to God.

Beginning at the lowest stage we place the whole world of sense-perception before us as a mirror through which we may pass to God, the supreme Artificer (*opifex*). The supreme power, wisdom and goodness of the Creator are reflected in created things in all the three ways in which the mind can turn to the consideration of creatures. The senses serve the intellect when it is performing acts of reasoning, of believing and of contemplating. Hence the mind can pass from effects to causes, from creatures to God, by the natural light of reason, by the light of faith and by the gifts of the Holy Spirit. By the light of reason it sees that certain things merely exist, others exist and live, others exist, live and think ; that some are corporeal, others are partly corporeal and partly spiritual, from which it takes occasion to recall that there are some which are purely spiritual. Nevertheless it sees that some things are mutable and corruptible and that some are mutable and incorruptible, whence it recalls that some are immutable and incorruptible. From these visible things, therefore, it rises to a consideration of the power, wisdom and goodness of God as existing, living and intelligent, purely spiritual and incorruptible and immutable. He therefore who is not enlightened by such

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creaturally effulgence is blind ; he who is not aroused by such voices is deaf ; he who is not moved by such works to praise God is dumb ; he who from such signs does not infer the First Principle is foolish indeed.

The second chapter is concerned with the sensible world as a mirror in which we can contemplate God, insofar as he is in all creatures by his essence, his power and his presence. The chief way in which reason leads us to know eternal truth in sensible things is by analysis (*diudicatio*) ; for if this analysis comes about by means of reason abstracting from place, time and mutability and hence from dimensions, succession and change ; and if in all of this there is a reference implied to something which is immutable and illimitable ; since nothing is immutable and illimitable but what is eternal and whatever is eternal is either God or in God ; it follows that he is the reason of all things and the infallible rule and the light of truth in which all things are reflected. Here we have a passage similar to the one which we noticed above, in which he said that "All spiritual cognition takes place by reason of light, and by reason of the uncreated light." He continues by saying that hence those laws of reasoning by which we judge with certainty the various sensible objects which come before our minds, since they are infallible and indubitable to the intellect which apprehends them, are indelibly engraved on the memory which recalls them, are irrefutable by the intellect which examines them, and cannot themselves be judged by it because, as Augustine says : "No one makes judgments about them, but rather judges by means of them" (*De Libero Arbitrio*, c. 14, n. 38) ; must be unchangeable and incorruptible as being necessary ; must be illimitable as being universal, and hence must be indivisible as being intellectual and incorporeal ; not made, but uncreated, eternally existing "*in arte aeterna*," by which, through which and in accordance with which are formed all things beautiful. Hence things cannot be judged with certainty except through that which was the form not only producing all things but conserving and distinguishing all things ; "being" preserving form in all things and the rule or norm by which our mind judges all the things which come into it through the senses. What is this "*ars aeterna*" to which he traces back the first principles of all thinking ? There is a certain art, he says elsewhere (2 *Sent. D.* 16, d. 4) which is the foundation of nature (*fundamentum naturae*) and the work of this art is

indeed natural because it makes nature itself; it is the art whose work it is to create. The Quaracchi editors connect this with St. Augustine's remark about the Son of God, to the effect that He is "a certain art of the omnipotent and wise God, replete with all the immutable reasons of living things" (*De Trinitate* VI, c. 10, n. 11).

St. Bonaventure concludes the second chapter of the "*Itinerarium*" by saying that from these first two stages in which we are led to consider God in the traces of him which we find in the world we can gather that all the creatures of this sensible world lead the mind of the wise beholder to the eternal God, since they are the shadows, echoes and copies (*picturae*), footprints, representations and showings-forth (*spectacula*) of that most powerful, wise and good First Principle; of that eternal origin, light and fulness; of that efficient, exemplar and guiding artistry (*artis efficientis, exemplantis et ordinantis*); shadows and copies given to us as means of contemplating God; signs divinely given. These things are copies (*exemplata*) placed before minds still rude and immersed in sensible things, that through the sense-objects which they see they may be carried on to intelligible objects which they do not see, as through signs to the things signified by them. From all of which we gather, he says, that "the invisible things of God from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made" (cf. *Rom. i, 20*) so that they who will not advert to them and recognise, bless and love God in them all are inexcusable, since they do not wish to be transferred "from darkness into the marvellous light of God" (cf. *1 Peter ii, 9*).

FR. SEBASTIAN, O.F.M.Cap.

MISTRA

AMONGST the snow-covered mountains—"the walls of Sparta, the breasts of her sons"—built upon the slope of a precipitous hill overlooking a valley where the river Eurotas flows through a plain spotted with olive groves is Mistra, a great ruined Byzantine city. The most remarkable relic of that wonderful civilisation which has given so much to the world. To-day a vast uninhabited series of ruined churches, palaces and houses, it remains for ever a witness to the artistic wonders

of a period upon which the attention of lovers of the past is becoming increasingly focussed.

Until the thirteenth century this magnificent site remained a desert. In 1249, when the Crusaders had achieved the conquest of the Peloponnesos, the Prince of Morea, Villehardouin II, built a great feudal castle upon the summit of a spur of the adjacent mountains called Taygetus. In 1259 Villehardouin was taken prisoner by the Emperor Michael Paleologos and the fortress known as Mistra was handed over to the Byzantines as a ransom. From that date it became the centre from which the Byzantine emperors undertook the re-conquest of the Peloponnesos. Little by little a great city grew up round the Frankish castle.

It was the Emperor John VI Cantacuzenos who became the first despot of Mistra, making it the capital of the re-conquered regions. But it was during the reign of his son Manuel that an era of great prosperity and building enterprise commenced. The Cantacuzeni dynasty was, however, soon replaced by the Paleologi with Theodore I as despot of Mistra. He and his successors continued to wage war victoriously against the Franks. He died in 1407 and during the last years of his life he became a monk. The last emperor of Byzantium, Constantine Paleologos was crowned at Mistra and his brother Demetrios, who succeeded him as despot after his tragic end, cowardly ceded the city to the Turks in 1460 without a struggle.

Mistra remained the capital of the Peloponnesos under the Turks. From 1687 until 1715 it was occupied by the Venetians. After their departure the town gradually became uninhabited. During the Greek wars of Independence the few families who remained were obliged to leave and move to the neighbouring town of Sparta. From that time onwards except for the nuns who live in the convent of the Pantanassa nothing but ruins remain to bear witness to the past.

The ruins of Mistra comprise over two thousand separate buildings, churches, palaces and private houses, built on the abrupt face of the hill which is crowned by the impressive castle of Villehardouin. Many of these buildings even to-day present a most imposing appearance. It is easy to picture the ancient magnificence of these crumbling walls in the days of their glory. The winding streets still in many places pass under Gothic arches and through gateways in the great walls of the battlements. They are moss-grown and encumbered

with débris, but one cannot but notice that here was the scene of the pageantry of one of the world's most cultured principalities.

It seems that the more popular quarter of the city was at the bottom of the hill. There are to be found the cathedral of St. Demetrios adjoining the episcopal palace of which practically nothing remains, the Pantanassa, that is Our Lady, Queen of All, and Peribleptos. Also a number of smaller chapels each dedicated to a popular Saint such as St. George, St. Christopher, or St. John, in which the Holy Liturgy would be celebrated once a year on the feast day of the saint. Such chapels are still to be found in great numbers all over Greece to-day. Higher up the hill was the aristocratic quarter. Here are the palaces and mansions of the despot and his nobles and again several fine churches. Above this at an altitude of five hundred feet above the lower town is the ancient castle, the great battlemented walls of which dominate the landscape for miles around.

Before attempting to describe in detail the seven larger churches it is important to note how precious they are to us, as they enable us to trace the evolution of Byzantine art during a period of two centuries, from the middle of the thirteenth until the middle of the fifteenth century: a period of great historical interest as the time of the last Byzantine renaissance under the Paleologue emperors before the final catastrophe. The tendency to realism, individualism and the cult of the picturesque are plainly to be discerned in the architecture, sculpture and paintings of Mistra. Yet, as has always been the case, the traditional Byzantine style is carefully maintained. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that in the East the same liberty in style of church architecture and decoration does not exist as in the West. Throughout the centuries the same traditional style is always strictly adhered to, being only slightly modified by the prevailing taste of the age.

The monuments at Mistra are especially noteworthy in that they display a very high artistic level both in the delicacy of the decoration and the perfect harmony of proportions. This is not only due to the artistic sense of the age in which they were constructed but also to the influence emanating from Constantinople. The frescos that cover the walls of the interior of the churches are masterpieces of mural painting. Were many of the mural paintings which belong to the same period that are to-day covered in whitewash in some of our



The Roofs of Pantanassa



Fresco—St. John Chrysostom, Peribleptos



Pantanassa—Interior



Pantanassa Exterior

pre-reformation English churches revealed, we should undoubtedly have a very interesting field not only for comparison with those of the East but we should also probably discover a lost art. There is certain Western influence to be seen, such as the bell towers. These are of exquisite beauty, constructed in dark red brick and relieved by small marble pillars and patterns entirely Byzantine in character. In the paintings also this tendency towards individuality is felt and must to a certain extent be due to contact with the West, but the traditional Oriental style is in no way impaired as it came to be in later centuries by the importation of Italian artistic ideas and methods.

The Metropolitan church of St. Demetrios according to an inscription found on a pillar was built by Nikephoros Moschopoulos, Bishop of Crete in the year 1312 A.D.; he was also Exarch of Lacedaimon. Certain indications in the style of the architecture and of the paintings have led the best authorities to regard him as merely having renovated the cathedral and they would date the church as having been built at the beginning of the thirteenth century. To Westerners the idea of a Metropolitan church must necessarily be attached to an enormous edifice such as we have become accustomed to in the great mediaeval cathedrals of Northern Europe. This is, however, quite a small building which could be described as a chapel. In the East when a church that is to be the scene of great national events, and is to be the chief church in a diocese, is constructed, great care is shown that it should be in accordance with the liturgical tradition. It matters little whether it be large or small, the latter being usually the case. St. Demetrios is artistically exquisite, but it would hardly hold a congregation of a couple of hundred persons. To those who know Ireland one is tempted to compare it with St. Kevin's Kitchen and the other ancient episcopal churches of that country which are of such a diminutive size that they could never hold a congregation such as assembles at episcopal functions now-a-days. In St. Demetrios nothing is lacking for the most exact observance of all the most minute details of the Byzantine rite, and all the sculpture, paintings and arrangements are of superb workmanship, such as cannot be equalled in modern times.

The walls of the church, the roof and the interior of the domes and cupolas are covered with a variety of paintings: all in the conventional style required by Byzantine art. It appears that these paintings, all of most praiseworthy work-

manship and of the highest artistic merit, are of different dates from the twelfth until the seventeenth centuries. The subjects depicted are various, both symbolic and mystical, as the adoration of the Trinity by angels and simple episodes from the Gospel story and the life of the Blessed Virgin. All portray the great possibilities of this art as an expression both of religious sentiment and of artistic excellence. Unfortunately many of these masterpieces are in a bad state of preservation owing to the fact that during the classical Renaissance in Europe their artistic value was not sufficiently appreciated and to the secular purposes for which these sacred edifices were used during the days of the Turkish occupation.

Amongst the ruins of the bishop's palace is to be found a small museum in which are preserved many remarkable pieces of carving, cornices and capitals of pillars and also an embossed eikon of Christ the King in stone. These eikons are exceptionally rare.

Not very far away from the Metropolitan church is the small church of the Evangelistria, that is the church of "Her to whom the message was sent," or, as we should put it, of the Annunciation. This is quite a small building and a bijou of Byzantine architecture. It appears to have been built as the church for a cemetery and many of the tombs around it date back to the days of the Despots. It is generally thought to have been built about the year 1400. The point of interest is the eikonostasis which differs in style from that of the Cathedral. The sculptured pillars are lacking and the only ornamentation is around the three doors. It is an interesting example of the transition period between the mediaeval type and that in marble which is so common in the churches of Greece to-day. The monastery of Vrontochion was probably the most important centre of learning in the city. It was there that the despots were buried. There are two splendid churches and doubtless formerly there existed also a multitude of smaller chapels. These churches are SS. Theodore and Our Lady Guide of Mankind (Hodegetria), more commonly known as that of the Afendiko, which was the name of the largest church of a town. Judging from the dates upon documents that have come down to us, the SS. Theodore should have been commenced about the year 1296 and the Afendiko in 1311. Both were founded by a Protosyngelos named Pachomios, who distinguished himself by his opposition to the Frankish invaders, in return for which Andronic II

Paleologos bestowed upon the monastery land re-conquered from the Franks, Copies of the chrysobulles bestowing the lands can be seen to-day upon the walls of the Afendiko. Both churches have been restored; Sts. Theodore in 1905 by the Archaeological Society and the Afendiko quite recently by the Greek Government.

SS. Theodore really belongs by its style to the eleventh century. It is thought that this style was employed to facilitate the construction of numerous mortuary chapels for the burial of the despots. The interior of the church was undoubtedly originally covered in frescos, these have unfortunately been badly mutilated, but enough remains to assign it to an artist of the Macedonian school.

The church of the Hodegetria or Our Lady Guide of Mankind is one of the most interesting in Mistra. Of the usual plan, the sanctuary consists of three bays; the nave is square, and there is a narthex; it was originally surrounded by many smaller chapels. The beauty of the sculpture and mural paintings, which are still being uncovered little by little, is exceptional. Undoubtedly the frescos were the work of a very great artist indeed and are of superb workmanship and taste. A mass of charming details executed with great skill and a colour scheme that is impossible to adequately describe, so different is it in feeling from Western art, and yet at once the effect is pleasing. Two artists appear to have worked in the principal portion of this church.

In a small chapel is the tomb of Theodore I Paleologos with two portraits of him above, one as a despot and the other as a monk: This description is underneath: "Theodore in religion Theodoretos."

The elegant church of the Holy Wisdom—Agia Sophia—to-day in ruins, was built in 1350 by Manuel Cantacuzenos to serve as a church for the palace. It served as a mosque during the Turkish occupation and was then sadly mutilated. There are remains of frescoes, but there may probably be many more found to exist when the whitewash and plaster have been removed. One interesting painting remains, that of the "King of Glory," which represents Our Lord's body in death with the Blessed Virgin and St. John. The pietà so popular in Southern European churches of the Latin rite is thought to have developed from this eikon.

The monastery of Peribleptos is constructed against the face of a rock. An exquisite little church in the pure Greek

tradition of the twelfth century, it was not, however, built until about 1500, and is surrounded by chapels of a later date dedicated to St. Paraskeve, St. Panteleemon, the Holy Trinity and St. Catherine.

In this church the frescos are nearly complete and a variety of subjects are represented—saints clad as knights, the founders of the church offering it to the Mother of God, paintings representing the Acathist hymn, scenes from the Life of Christ and His Mother. Our Lord as Pancreator—creator of all things—is on the roof of the central dome and Our Lady enthroned in the apse behind the altar. In the prothesis is a representation of the Holy Liturgy; angels dressed as deacons approach Christ, who is in the robes of a High Priest, bearing the Eucharist.

The Pantanassa monastery—the word can be translated as “Queen of all”—was originally dedicated to “Jesus—the source of life.” In 1380 it was restored for the first time by Manuel Cantacuzenos and again in 1420 by Jon Frangopoulos; it has changed little since then. Recently, however, a modern eikonostasis has been added and there is an abundance of modern eikons.

The modern paintings on this church are in a wonderful state of preservation; unfortunately they are mostly of the late fifteenth up to the seventeenth century. But the whole interior of the church is covered in painting and one can gather from this the gorgeous effect of these churches in the days of their glory. This church is a very fine example of the Mistra churches and it is a great pleasure to visit it.

To-day the Pantanassa serves as a chapel for a convent of nuns. It is owing to the devotion of these religious that one is able to-day to find so much preserved and restored not only of the convent church itself, but elsewhere also, and especially one should note the recently restored chapel of St. Nicholas. This work was undertaken by the Abbess. The nuns are devoted to Mistra and are the greatest authorities upon all the remains. How many archaeologists and lovers of Byzantine art, not only of their own Greek nationality but from all over the world, have been welcomed and inspired by these unselfish women, it is impossible to say. One thing is certain and that is that the nuns of the convent of the “Queen of all” have been one of the greatest forces in spreading a world-wide appreciation of the incomparable beauties of Byzantine art.

E. BOWRON.

ANGLICAN ORDERS¹

IN this pamphlet, written in the form of a series of letters to a layman, Dom Gregory Dix, the learned Anglican Benedictine, restates with great ability and clarity the arguments in favour of Anglican Orders. Many bad or inadequate arguments have been used on both sides during the long history of this controversy, but it has now reached a stage when these have been eliminated, and the essential elements of the discussion are easily accessible and its crux clearly perceived. The whole problem turns on the question of intention; not the internal intention which is necessary for the due performance of a sacrament, but the intention which is carried and expressed by the words of the sacramental form.

Our Lord gave no explicit form for ordination, and a great variety of forms has been sanctioned in the course of history by traditional Catholic usage, and these are effective because of the meaning which the Church has given them; and even a new and untraditional form, unsanctioned by Catholic usage, is effective if it expresses without ambiguity the meaning and purpose of the Church. But ambiguity at once arises if changes which have a doctrinal significance are made in traditional sacramental forms or in the rites which surround them, and are intended to alter the traditional doctrine of the Church, whether or not that doctrine has been formally embodied in a definition. Liturgical research has revealed a greater lack of explicitness in early ordination formulas than was thought possible in 1896 when *Apostolicae Curae* was issued, but this vagueness arises from the fact that the doctrine was as yet imperfectly developed, not from the fact that more explicit reference had been cut out because the doctrine was coming to be doubted or disbelieved. *Apostolicae Curae* nowhere states that the Anglican ordination forms before 1662 were *in se* inadequate; all the emphasis of its arguments is directed towards showing that the forms are inadequate because of the maimed rite which surrounds them, the excisions and alterations which have eliminated from the conceptions of episcopate and priesthood the sacrificial element which is integral to them in Catholic tradition.

¹ *The Question of Anglican Orders : Letters to a Layman* by Dom Gregory Dix, Monk of Nashdom Abbey. Dacre Press, Westminster. Pp. 93. 4/6.

It is for this reason that we hold the question of intention as externally manifested by the new sacramental forms, and the rites that contain them, to be the crux of the whole problem.

What was the mind of the body which drew up and accepted the first Anglican Ordinal in 1550? Was it the mind of the Catholic Church, or some other mind differing from it in essential matters? If you can bring yourself to regard, as all Anglo-Catholics must, the Church of England from 1535 to 1552 as an integral part of the Catholic Church, and Cranmer and his associates as legitimate bishops acting with true Catholic authority; the Ordinal they drew up and accepted expressed the mind and intention of the Catholic Church, of which they were representatives, whatever their own private minds and intentions may have been. In Cranmer's case we know that his private opinions differed widely from the doctrine of the Church. Dom Gregory in his *The Shape of the Liturgy* maintains that he was an out and out Zwinglian. But if you feel bound to regard the Church of England during this crucial period as in revolt against the authority of the Church, and the drawing up of her service books as done in defiance of that authority, then you are bound to hold that these formularies embodied the mind not of the Church but of a body separated from her, and that the forms of the new Ordinal carried the meaning and intention of that body or at least of some of its members.

Dom Gregory lays great emphasis on the Preface to the Ordinal as proof that the mind of the Church of England was identical with that of the Catholic Church, and that the intention of the Church of England was to continue and reverently use the Orders of Bishop, Priest and Deacon as they had been understood by the Church of Christ since the Apostles' time. But a view was increasingly current among Cranmer's contemporaries, and was certainly held by him, that the Church of Christ had become in course of time corrupt in essential doctrines, had formally and officially taught error concerning the Gospel of Christ, and stood in consequence in need of a drastic reform of her teaching by a return to primitive and purer standards. The Sacrifice of the Mass, as that doctrine had been gradually developed in the Catholic tradition, was regarded by many of the reformers as a corrupt accretion which had gathered round the primitive doctrine of the Eucharist, and though they believed that the three Orders had existed in the Church from apostolic times,

and were still to be had in reverent estimation, they did not hold that the episcopate and priesthood were sacrificial in any traditional Catholic sense. Such a view of the ministry is quite compatible with the wording of the Preface to the Ordinal.

It may be admitted that there was one-sided, unbalanced and therefore dangerous doctrine current concerning the Sacrifice of the Mass in the medieval Church; it may also be admitted that great emphasis on the sacrificial aspect of the priesthood had obscured in men's minds its very important pastoral functions, but it is making the argument carry too much weight to attribute all the changes and excisions in the new service-books to the desire to restore a right balance. The elimination of the references to sacrifice in the Ordinal and Communion-service point unmistakably to the conclusion that the compilers under the leadership of Cranmer intended to exclude the Sacrifice of the Mass altogether in any sense that would have squared with the traditional teaching of Christendom. This is fully admitted by Dom Gregory as far as Cranmer is concerned, though he emphasises the fact that we do not know who the other compilers were. It can hardly be seriously argued however that Cranmer did not take a predominant and decisive part in the drawing up of the book of 1549 and its Ordinal, or in the subsequent revisions of 1552, or that whoever his colleagues were, they did not know the general tendency of his intentions and accept them, though certain differences of opinion may have been covered by the ambiguity of the formulas.

The crux of the problem then is this: what mind and intention do the new ordination formulas of the Book of Common Prayer carry and express? It is here that one's conception of the nature and authority of the Catholic Church becomes decisive. For an Anglo-Catholic the answer will be, as Dom Gregory makes clear, the mind and intention of the Catholic Church, of which the Church of England was an integral part in spite of the schism, and of which Cranmer and his colleagues were duly accredited officers in spite of any heretical views they may have held. For us, however, these formulas were produced by a body which had cut itself off from Catholic unity, and whose officers in consequence had no claim to speak in the name of the Catholic Church. Nor do these formulas express the mind and intention of the primitive Church, for, as we hold, the mind of the Church

is constant and cannot contradict in one age what it proclaims in another; nor do they express the mind and intention of the Church of England as an independent body, for the Church of England as an independent body, though it expressed its mind and intention in the Preface to the Ordinal, did so in a way which avoids the crucial issue, viz., whether the sacrificial element is integral to the conception of episcopate and priesthood as received from apostolic times, or whether it is a later accretion. The conclusion therefore for us must be that these formulas express the private minds and intentions of their compilers, and notably of Cranmer himself, who had such a large part in their composition; and consequently that the priesthood they are intended to confer is not the sacrificial priesthood of Catholic tradition.

For Anglicans the question of their Orders is of vital importance; it affects their day to day living of the Christian life in the most intimate possible way, and is an *articulus stantis aut cadentis* of their membership of the Church of England. For us it is not a vital question, and is only important, apart from the fact that the truth about anything is important, because of its effect upon the reunion of Christendom. Even here the problem is only affected indirectly and in a secondary way; for if the day ever came when the Church of England or a large organised part of it was ready doctrinally for corporate reunion the question of Orders would surely no longer stand in the way, for either it would have been already solved by the Anglicans themselves or they would by then be prepared to accept the conditions laid down by the Holy See. The real difficulty as between ourselves and Anglicans in working for the reunion of Christendom is the psychological barrier which is set up by our inability to recognize Anglican Orders as identical with the Orders conferred by the sacrament which Our Lord instituted. As far as Catholics are concerned, the controversy is closed by the high authority of *Apostolicae Curae*. The only way in which this psychological barrier can be overcome is by the clearest possible understanding on both sides of the theological issues involved in this authoritative judgement of the Holy See; and the most fundamental of all these issues is the nature and authority of the Catholic Church.

HENRY ST. JOHN, O.P.

REVIEW OF REVIEWS

CATHOLIC REVIEWS.

Irénikon, Tome XVII, Jan.—April 1940, Prieuré d'Amay, Chevetogne, Belgique. *Questions sur l'Eglise et son Unité*, by various authors, J. Duculot, Gembloux, 1943.

L. Cerfaux, in the first article of this number of *Irénikon*, shows by a sketch of the main texts that gnosticism was not, as Harnack supposed, "the acute hellenization of Christianity," but a mythology based on Egyptian sources. The real birth of Christian theology must be sought elsewhere; it is an independent growth.

L. Bouyer writes the first of three articles on *L'école de Lund*: A. Nygren, G. Aulén, Y. Brilioth. These Swedish theologians have in common their collaboration at the Lund University, the principles and spirit of their work, and their effort to disengage Protestant theology from old polemics and new rationalism. On three different lines of approach, their work may none the less be taken as a whole, and in so far as it brings them to patristic sources and to what M. Bouyer calls the pure well-springs of Protestant theology it has great eirenic value.

This first article, on Dr. Nygren, analyses his famous *Agape and Eros*, which appeared in 1930 and was soon translated all over the world. *Agape* is Divine love, the principle of the Redemption; it comes from above and from above only; it is the one essential element of Christianity and serves to explain all its problems; it is, for example, the principle of the Christian sacrifice, which St. Paul shows to be not an effort of man, but a divine initiative. Human religion as opposed to Christianity can never reach above *Eros*, which is the creature's love of self and proceeds from below. Hence a specific difference between Christianity and any human religion. Dr. Nygren's theme is explained by L. Bouyer with an appreciation of its metaphysical and theological implications which make this an important article.

D. P. Dumont in an article "La Faculté de Théologie d'Athènes et les Ordres Anglicans," discusses the 1939 decision of the Holy Synod of the Greek Church on Anglican Orders, in the light of the remarks of the four Orthodox theologians on the subject.

L. Bouyer writes his second article in *Questions sur l'Eglise et son Unité*, analysing Aulén's study of the atonement, *Christus Victor*, and adding a page on the eirenic significance of the Lund theology.

D. C. Lialine, in this publication, has collected the titles and given short extracts from recent literature on the movement of prayer for Christian Unity. There is also an article by D. O. Rousseau on Eastern and Western monasticism, based on an analysis of P. Placid de Meester's study of Byzantine monastic discipline in the *Fonti* for Canon Law published by the Congregation for the Eastern Churches, and of Dom Philibert Schmitz' *Histoire de l'Ordre de S. Benoît*.

DOM WILLIAM McLAUGHLIN.

NON-CATHOLICS REVIEWS.

Sobornost' (1942-1944).

Sobornost' has come out regularly twice a year during these years.

The June issue of 1942 is mainly taken up with the problem of Russia. Julia de Beausobre speaks of the "Other Russians"; she introduces them thus: "But the Rus (i.e., the Russians that most Europeans know about) were not the only inhabitants of Russian territory. There was, beyond this historically known and artistically creative Russia, another: mute, uncommunicative, impervious to any culture or civilization known heretofore. Some of this other population was classified as Mohammedan, though it contributed nothing to Mohammedan philosophy, poetry or science, and knew nothing of them. Its world outlook, strange and crude, bristled with snatches of an older and less harmonious system of thought, more in keeping with that of the avowedly idolatrous population of the Russian hinterland. A population of vague Asiatic descent. . . . It was never relegated beyond this longitude or that latitude, but could always be found scattered here and there, anywhere East of Moscow."

It is a most enlightening article and shows up the religious problem in the U.S.S.R. from a point of view unknown to the average Westerner. The writer shows how in 1917 these Other Russians responded in swarms and ranged themselves unconditionally under the banner of communism. Since then they have been disciplined and educated up to

the highest materialistic standards. On the other hand, the old Rus, those of the Christian tradition, during the same period, when there was the clash between the two irreconcilable world outlooks, suffered a very heavy death-rate.

The present position is given thus: there is every reason to think that this Other Russia will remain in control for very many years to come. The old majority has dimmed down into a new minority. But, with typical Rus tenacity, the minority clings to its conviction that it will outlive all trials, majorities and rulers. In the meanwhile, they devote their surface energies to the day's work, whether it be ploughing or fighting. Below the surface throbs a silent, constant prayer.

Dr. Zernov, in "Russia—The Enigma," has dealt with the many reasons why it is very difficult for the ordinary English public to understand the religious problem in Russia. *Sobornost* does its best to help the Englishman to understand in the series of articles published in the issues under discussion: "The First Russian Conflict with the West," (by Irina Findlow (being the victory over the German Teutonic Order by Alexander Nevsky); "The Christians of Russia and the Christians of Great Britain," by N. Zernov, a development of his other article (December, 1942); "Portrait of a Country," by Patrick Thompson, being a study of Russian literature (June, 1943); "Religion in Soviet Russia, 1943," by Harry Mellor, being a review of Professor Timasheff's book, *Religion in Soviet Russia, 1917-1942*; and "The Restoration of the Patriarchate in Moscow," by N. Zernov (both in the December 1943 issue). And a very penetrating study of how the present régime in Russia is but a debased form of theocracy and theocentricity, by Julia de Beausobre in an article she entitles "Prayer and Personality" (December, 1942).

Apart from the recording of matters of special interest to the Fellowship, the rest of the outstanding articles deal in one way or another with the general problem of Christian unity. In the December issue for 1942, Father Victor White's introductory talk to the Oxford theological group of the Fellowship on "The Church as the Body of Christ," is published. In the June issue for 1943 the Rev. C. B. Moss writes of the "Present State of the Problem of Christian Unity," in which he has things old and new to say. His suggestion in regard to a line of approach with the non-episcopal bodies is of value. We can find no reference in

the published documents of the Orthodox delegates at Edinburgh in 1937 proposing a League of Churches as he says, but among other things they said is this, that : " the Church on earth is visible and that only one true Church can be visible and exist on earth." (In Report II). " That intercommunion must be considered as the crowning act of a real and true Reunion which has already been fully achieved by fundamental agreement in the realm of Faith and Order and is not to be regarded as an instrument for Reunion." (Report IV). The writer seems to have been unfortunate in his contacts or want of contact with the Church of Rome, and wild statements both concerning facts and history do not help his case. It is therefore with pleasure that we read Father Lev's article on " Papal infallibility and Sobornost' " (June, 1944).

The report of the Conference on Church and State (December, 1944) which took place at Oxford makes us wish that the papers could have been published in full.

The whole series of issues shows that the Fellowship has been applying itself to the vital problems of the moment and this we know has been done within a spirit of prayer.

DOM BEDE WINSLOW.

NEWS AND COMMENTS

The following items should prove of interest and certainly demand our prayers.

EASTERN CHURCHES QUARTERLY REPRINTS.

In April—June issue for 1944 we proposed the bringing out of a series of *E.C.Q.* Reprints. In fact the first actual reprint was that of Professor Dvornik, *National Churches and the Church Universal*. This was published by the Dacre Press (3s.). The next reprint is now ready : *Integral Catholicism and the Eastern Churches Quarterly*. This will be the No. 1 of the series since it treats of the fundamental ideas of our work. The paper was first read at the Oxford Conference of December, 1944. It can now be obtained for 3d. at Geo. Coldwell, Ltd., Holborn, W.C.1, or in the U.S.A., 480, Lexington Avenue, New York City.

THE ARGENTINE: Friendly relations between Anglicans and Argentine Catholics.

We consider that it will help our readers to better understand what is to follow if we first give this quotation from *The Sword of the Spirit* for November, 1944. Speaking of Christian co-operation, the periodical says: "The interest has now spread to the Argentine, where Father Wilfrid Parsons' long and authoritative article on 'Intercredal Co-operation in the Papal Documents' (which appeared in *Theological Studies* of June, 1943) has been reprinted in a Spanish translation. . . . But it must not be thought that Catholic and non-Catholic co-operation in South America is at all likely in present circumstances. There has long been throughout Latin America, a tense situation as a result of Protestant infiltration in the various Republics. . . . At the very time that the Spanish pamphlet appeared there was issued a Joint Pastoral Letter by the entire Argentine hierarchy on this very matter. The first half summarizes the teaching of the Church on what the Church is. The second part sets out the attitude of the Church towards heresy and heretics. When the Argentine bishops come to enunciate the essence of true freedom of religion, the words they choose are a long quotation from a broadcast on 'The Four Freedoms' given by Archbishop Griffin."

The tense situation due to Protestant infiltration spoken of above refers to the very worst type of proselytizing methods that have been used against the Church. The Anglican bishop and clergy made a public protest against this policy in spite of the fact that most of the Anglican laity are dominated by the narrowest Protestant prejudices. There is an article in *The Pilot* (of June, 1944) giving the position by the Rev. R. Baron, the Anglican vicar of Holy Trinity, Lomas de Zamora, Buenos Aires. We are fortunate in having before us not only the articles (for he has written on previous occasions in *The Pilot*) but some letters of, and also a pamphlet (*The Church of England*) by the Rev. R. Baron. Here we have a record of some very solid work on the part of an Anglican clergyman on behalf of a better understanding with Rome and the reactions of some Catholics in Buenos Aires which make encouraging reading.

First then he has been collaborating with Mgr. Straubinger, professor of scripture at the Seminary of La Plata, in translating into English for circulation among English speaking

Jews in the U.S.A., his Spanish edition of *The Book of Esther* with its introduction and notes.

Another well-known promoter of biblical studies and a former president of the Supreme Council of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul in the Argentine Republic, a Catholic layman, Dr. J. A. Bourdieu, writes to the Rev. Baron as representative in Buenos Aires of the Society for the Promotion of Catholic Unity (an Anglican organization): "As a Catholic Christian belonging to the Roman Church, I look with great appreciation and sympathy upon the work of the Society for the Promotion of Catholic Unity, in which you work so actively within the Anglican Church with that charitable eagerness to seek, not those things which separate us, but those that unite us in Christ. . . . As regards Catholicism, I am glad to make clear that when the Supreme Pontiff speaks of Anglicanism, and even of other Reformed groups, he calls them 'our separated brethren,' thus making clear that in spite of the dissidence that may exist, our brotherhood in Christ continues. We see from this that those Catholic priests and laymen, be they few or many, who look upon and treat as 'heretics' all these separated brethren (whom they include without distinction under the name of Protestants), are thinking and acting from ignorance in a way very different from, and even contrary to, the Vicar of Christ, forgetting that the Church of Rome admits as certain the salvation of dissidents who are in good faith." He goes on to quote St. Paul (1 Cor. xii) and St. John (1 John i, 5, and John i, 12-13) that no man can say that Jesus is the Lord but by the Holy Ghost. And later on says that he has read *The Faith in England* by Herbert Rees and noted that the author makes out that most of the trouble in connection with the separation between England and Rome was that the Church and State of England refused to admit that the Pope had the power, together with excommunication, to deprive kings of their temporal power as some canonists maintained. He then goes on: "Leaving on one side sterile historical discussions, we can say that thanks be to God such a difficulty no longer stands in the way of the so greatly desired return to the common home. Quite the contrary; for the last encyclical of Pius XII, *Orientalis Ecclesiae Decus*, put forth at Easter of this present year (i.e., 1944), referring to the dissidents of the Oriental Church, and invoking the unity in charity which St. Cyril of Alexandria so strongly defended,

declares, according to the Vatican Radio, 'To-day also the spirit of charity will show to the dissidents the easy way to the one fold, showing respect to the institutions, the liturgy, and the hierarchical orders of the East, while holding the corresponding institutions and rites of the Latin Church in identical estimations.' In ending the encyclical, the Holy Father expresses the desire that this centenary of St. Cyril shall be celebrated throughout the world by promoting the return of the separated brethren to the bosom of the Catholic Church, in the integrity of the Faith in mutual charity and in loyalty to the See of Peter. And he adds: 'May the faithful show a greater concern for the return of the dissident brothers to the unity of the Church'." The writer ends by saying: "These considerations, although they refer to the Easterns show in every way a good will and a desire for Catholic unity which cannot fail to stimulate the movement of the Society for the Promotion of Catholic Unity."

The Rev. R. Baron wrote a letter to the Editor of *The Church Times* (we do not know if it was published), dated 10th March, 1944, in which he gives a true picture of the government of the Argentine Republic since June 4th, 1943, repudiating that it can be called or considered as "Fascism," and showing how the whole is based largely on the social encyclicals of the Popes and is in fact controlled in every way on Catholic and Christian principles. He also published, in 1943, a pamphlet entitled *The Church of England* in which he gives an outline of what the Church of England is, largely based on the book of the Rev. A. H. Rees, *The Faith in England*. This is of course treating the matter entirely from a "High Church" point of view, but it gives the main outlines and states the facts, e.g., "*Anglicanism*: From the accession of Queen Elizabeth to the present time, etc." "*Decline*: The accession of the House of Hanover was a further blow to the Church of England." In dealing with Anglicanism in Argentina he makes it quite clear that the Church of England is only there to provide ministrations for English people (i.e., Anglicans) in the country. "An Anglican settled permanently in this country," he says, "who can never receive the sacraments from an Anglican priest would be justified in joining the Roman Communion, rather than remain permanently cut off from the ministrations of the Church." It is pretty evident that this good Anglican priest is doing all he can to bring about good relations with the Catholics of the Argentine, and even further afield too.

VISIT OF THE PATRIARCH OF MOSCOW TO CAIRO.

On 9th June, Prince Peter of Greece and Princess Irene gave a luncheon in honour of the Patriarch Alexis. Among those present were M. Chéborine (minister of the U.S.S.R.), M. Pappas (minister of Greece), Loutfallah Bey, and many other ecclesiastical and lay guests. The Patriarch Alexis gave Princess Irene a beautiful eikon. In the afternoon solemn vespers were sung at the Hamzaoui Greek-Orthodox church, in both Greek and Russian; the three patriarchs and a large congregation of the faithful were present. At 7 p.m. on the same day M. Loutfallah gave a big reception in honour of the patriarch at his palace. Among the guests were the bishops of Aksoum, Leontopolis, Mgr. Hilarion (Orthodox patriarchal vicar of Cairo), Syrian, Maronite, Greek-Catholic bishops, Lord Killearn (British Ambassador), M. Chéborine, Prince Peter and Princess Irene of Greece, and many other Egyptian, Syro-Libanese, Greek and Russian notabilities, including H.E. Sioufi Bey, grand Chamberlain to H.M. King Farouk. In a long interview with Patriarch Alexis, he was asked what were the relations between the Russian Church and the Soviet government. In reply he said that in the light of history one would always find misdeeds committed, religious persecuted, churches transformed into places of amusement. But these excesses were transient. In fact, the relations between Church and state were excellent. It was true that they were separated, but the state was helpful when ground was required for the building of some religious institution; the Soviet government gave what was required. There was full liberty of action where religion was concerned. Mgr. Alexis was then asked what were his impressions of his visit to Cairo. From his reply it appeared that he was impressed by the welcome which he had received from not only Greek and Russian Orthodox, but from Christians of different rites and from non-Christians. This would be the best memory that he would carry away from Cairo. He promised to pray for the inhabitants of Egypt, and gave his blessing before departure. On the following morning a solemn liturgy was celebrated by Mgr. Alexis, in Russian, at the Greek-Orthodox church at Hamzaoui; among those present was M. Chéborine. Patriarch Christophoros of Alexandria sent Mgr. Alexis a rich patriarchal cross and gave he decoration of the Order of St. Mark to the two principal

Russian prelates. In the afternoon, Mgr. Alexis visited the orphanage at Spetzeropoulos, the church of the Assumption at Heliopolis and the Melachrinion schools. Three of the dignitaries of the Russian Church who accompanied Mgr. Alexis to Egypt, left by air for England to pay a visit of courtesy to the Archbishop of York. Mgr. Alexis left for Alexandria on the Monday, on his way to Beyrout, whence he would return to Moscow on 23rd June, the eve of Pentecost.

(From *La Bourse Égyptienne*—11th June, 1945).

For any further news concerning the Russian Church or comment thereon we will wait until the next issue.

THE LEBANON. The Maronite Patriarch's appeal for the continuation of French protection.

The following appeared in *The Times* of 20th July, 1945. It is a translation of a letter of His Beatitude to the editor of *Le Monde*. The letter states: "Believing that the future of the Lebanon could not be settled without public expression of the opinion of him who, by God's will, bears the crushing responsibility of administering the Maronite Church, 350,000 of whose members live within its borders, besides those who have emigrated or are absent or live in other Arab States, I did not fail, when requested by foreign journalists, to tell them of my anxieties for the future of the Christian in the Middle East by reason of past and present antagonisms between (religious) communities.

"That is why I expressed the desire, in view of the small number of Christians in the Middle East and the fact that the Lebanon is the Christians' only refuge, that the independence of the Lebanon should be protected especially by France, who has always looked after its vital interests. This would not prevent the other allied Powers from supporting France in this humanitarian intervention.

"I have always said, and I repeat, that it is in the interests of the Lebanon to work towards the signing of a treaty with France that will safeguard the interests of the two countries without affecting the independence of the Lebanon. That is the wish of all our Christians. I consider it imperative that the feelings of the Eastern Christians be known at a time when the great Powers are about to settle the future peace for the greater happiness of all peoples.

"Desiring that our wishes be known to all, but hearing

that obstacles might be placed in the way of the public declaration of our feelings, we request you to publish this declaration."

"His Beatitude has delegated Mgr. Akl to visit Lebanese Christians scattered throughout Europe, America, and Africa to the number of nearly 1,000,000, and inform them of what is happening in the Lebanon."

A reply to this was sent to *The Times* (25th July) by the Lebano-Syrian Press delegation denying the patriarch's right to speak on behalf of the Lebanese Christians and stating that the Republic of the Lebanon will be able to co-operate with the Arab League. It is of interest therefore to read a report of an interview with the patriarch's delegate, Mgr. Anthony Akl, the Maronite vicar-patriarchal in Iraq, who was on his way to the United States—where he will be speaking in the name of the leaders of the West-Syrian, Maronite and Armenian Catholic Churches in the Levant. He says that "in order to avoid the Moslems from the surrounding countries joining with the Moslems in the Lebanon and thus rendering the Christians a minority governed by the Moslems, the Maronite Patriarch is asking for an international guarantee from the four Great Powers, England, France, Russia and America. He wants also to see an understanding between France and Great Britain on questions affecting the Levant." "Britain," he says, "must take as much interest in the Christians as she is taking in the Jews. A home for the Christians in the Lebanon is just as important as a home for the Jews in Palestine." (*The Catholic Herald*, 24th August, 1945.

JUGOSLAVIA.

In *The Church Times* for 27th July, 1945, Dr. S. Bolshakoff has written an article on "The Serbian Church," the greater part of which is a very good historic survey of the country's religious position. In the last paragraph speaking of Marshal Tito's policy towards the Church, he says: "It is similar to that of Stalin. Occupying Belgrade, he did not prosecute Metropolitan Joseph for his co-operation with Nedich, but excused it. Every honour is rendered to the prelate. He was received by the Government on many occasions. He administered the oath of office to the Regents. He was given every facility to visit Moscow with a large suite in January.

The Home Secretary at the Central Government is an Orthodox priest, and in the Serbian Government two ministers are Orthodox priests. When the Russian Church delegation recently visited Yugoslavia its chairman, the Bishop of Kirovograd, expressed his pleasure to see so many Orthodox priests military chaplains and three of them ministers.

"Tito stands for a federated Yugoslavia and radical reforms. He is bound to have determined adversaries. At present his régime cannot be called harsh to the Church either Orthodox or Roman, etc."

This is certainly another side to the picture. For his dealings with the Catholic Croats see *The Tablet*, of 18th December, 1943. For his treatment of many Orthodox clergy we quote:

From *The Nineteenth Century and After*, No. DCCCXXI, July, 1945.

MEMORANDUM FROM THE GRAND ASSEMBLY OF THE SERBIAN ORTHODOX CLERGY, MARCH, 1945.¹

To His Beatitude the Œcumenical Patriarch at Constantinople, To His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, To His Grace the Metropolitan of Greece Damaskinos, To His Grace the Serbian Orthodox Bishop Irinej Djordhevitch, To His Grace the Serbian Orthodox Bishop of Canada and the United States of America, Chicago.

A Grand Assembly of the Serbian Orthodox Clergy from the territory of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, invaded and occupied by Nazis and held under the Partisan terror, was held on March 14th and 15th, 1945. The clergy who participated in this Assembly came from all Yugoslav territories populated by the Orthodox population, and particularly from Serbia, Montenegro, and Bosnia. Among the representatives from Montenegro also was His Grace Metropolitan Joanikije. Great concern was expressed in connection with the development of the internal situation in Yugoslavia where brutal force is reigning over the right, lie over the truth, and Machiavellian policy over moral. All these occurrences are incentives for further persistent efforts towards the monarchy and democracy.

¹ This Memorandum was presented to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury on June 7th, 1945.—The Editor of *The Nineteenth Century*.

The clergy of the Serbian Orthodox Church consider :

(1) That the campaign conducted by the Communist party and the Partisan authorities against the King and monarchist principles represent the first phase in the establishment of an integral communist administration in Yugoslavia for the purpose of creating a totalitarian system of one party.

The Serbian Orthodox Clergy are venturing of expressing their hope that their views would be considered with an understanding, particularly in democratic countries which have benefited from the advantages of a monarchy. They also hope that assistance would be rendered to a nation which has been handed over to the Communists against their own will.

(2) The Communist party of Yugoslavia has stabbed the Serbian Orthodox Church by cutting the territories populated by the Serbs into four federal units which should, according to the Communist scheme, each have its independent Church as each such unit, according to the Communists, represents a separate nation, and each nation has the right to an independent Church. Thus a project is being worked out to form four out of one Serbian Orthodox Church. Things from which even the Turks at the climax of their power have refrained are being attempted now by Communists, namely, the breaking-up of the Serbian national unity and the integrity of the Serbian Orthodox Church.

The Serbian Orthodox Clergy are appealing to the entire Christian world and all the Christian Churches to lodge their protests against the annihilation of a Church which gave to the common Christian good such great moral wealth, many artistic acquisitions and so much love for national freedom.

(3) The Serbian Orthodox Church has been autocephalous for 700 years, and independent. The project according to which it, or any other European or Eastern Orthodox Church should be subject to the Moscow Patriarchate, is absolutely contrary to the canons. The Serbian Orthodox Clergy will therefore most energetically do their duty in order to preserve the principle of autocephalous status of the Serbian Orthodox Church. They would therefore be grateful for any assistance from either religious or political institutions in the world who would help in the preservation of these principles.

(4) The Serbian people were against Communism not only in the past, but are still so to-day, against Communism and their moral.

For those who are not acquainted with the Communist system, let the following list of the massacred Serbian Orthodox priests serve as a proof of their hatred. It is not an exhaustive list, but all the same is a sufficient proof and evidence of the Communist work.

Tito's soldiers have massacred :—

1. Archimandrite Serafim Djaritch of the monastery of Sv. Trojica at Plevlje.
2. Abbot Nestor Trkulja of the monastery Plecane, Prijepolje.
3. Abbot Damnjan Tomitch of the monastery of Kosjerovo, Nikovica.
4. Monk Varnava Bucan of the monastery of Rakovica.
5. Archpriest Sergije Urukalo of Split.
6. Archpriest Konstantin Krstanovitch of Sibenik.
7. Archpriest Pavle Rukitch of Svilajnac.
8. Paun Fotitch of Sabac.
9. Archpriest Jevremovitch of Paracin.
10. Archpriest Slobodan Liljak of Plevlje.
11. Archpriest Lazar Ognitch of Snureditch, nr. Kolasin.
12. Hieromonachos Teofan Blatovitch of Onivasitch.
13. Hieromonachos Gavriilo Dabitch of the monastery of Zupa, nr. Niksic.
14. Hieromonachos Hermilijan Bankovitch of the monastery of Kirsumovac, nr. Grocka.
15. Hieromonachos Konstantin Dukitch of Djekos, Srem.
16. Hieromonachos Sergije Mihailovitch of the monastery of Kalenic.
17. Hieromonachos Simeon Djacanin of the monastery of Petkovica.
18. Hieromonachos Janko Popovitch of the monastery of Dobrac.
19. Priest Bogoljub Nikolitch of Kragujevac.
20. Priest Milan Mitritch of Arandjelovac.
21. Priest Miodrag Solavitch of Dragacevo.
22. Priest Sreta Milovanovitch of Mrdjanovic, nr. Sabac.
23. Priest Milan Pasitch of Ujiste.
24. Priest Petar Vujovitch of Cetinje.
25. Priest Rade Popovitch of Andrijevisa.
26. Priest Savo Pejovitch of Arilje.
27. Priest Risto Karanac of Niksic.
28. Priest Vaso Popovitch of Niksic.
29. Priest Vasilije Bojanitch of Podgorica.

30. Priest Bogden Keserovitch of Travnik.
31. Priest Krsta Markovitch of Ljesanska Nahija.
32. Priest Pavle Kekovitch of Danilov Grad.
33. Priest Djuro Tomovitch of Prijepolje.
34. Priest Bozidar Cosovitch of Kosamica, nr. Plevlje.
35. Priest Relja Puritch of Sjenica.

(5) Always faithful to its people, the Serbian Orthodox Clergy is faithful to-day to the movement of General Mihailovitch, a popular leader. The fact that the movement of General Mihailovitch is at the same time anti-fascist and anti-Communist gives it the characteristic of a purely Christian and democratic movement which is serving the civilisation. All those who care for civilisation should help the movement of General Mihailovitch. This struggle would have been less disastrous for our people, and the world would attain greater benefits if there existed solidarity between all Christian and democratic forces in the world. Serbian Orthodox Clergy would feel happy if they were to see in the nearest future the realisation of this solidarity.

Secretary :

(sgd.) MIHAÏLO DJUSITCH,
Hieromonachos and professor.

President :

(Sgd.) SAVO BOJITCH-RELAVA,
Archpriest.

The above memorandum had been referred to in *The Tablet*, 4th August, 1945.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

DEAR SIR,

In the letter from J.D.C. which appeared in your number for January—March, 1945 there is one sentence on which I would like to comment; it reads, "Minor matters of Thomism or Augustinianism are irrelevant in the face of such divergences." With some of the divergences K.F.E.W. dealt in the subsequent number of your publication; it is with the earlier part of the sentence that I am here concerned. It seems to me that the difference between Augustinianism and Aristotelian-Thomism are neither minor matters nor irrelevant to a review of Dr. Lampert's work. I have used the expression "Aristotelian-Thomism" because, as the author of the book in question points out, in Thomism various trends of thought meet and intermingle and according as one or other elemen

is stressed the system takes on a different hue. The most fundamental part of any philosophy is its theory of knowledge and this is a question on which there is considerable divergence between Augustinianism and Aristotelian-Thomism, the former holding that at least some ideas are innate, the latter stoutly denying this. For St. Augustine's views on this matter see De Wulf, *History of Medieval Philosophy*, tr. Coffey, 3rd ed., pp. 95-98. For the views of St. Bonaventure, an eminent member of the Augustinian school, see Gilson, *The Philosophy of St. Bonaventure*, pp. 120, 122, 135, 375-E378, etc. From this springs acceptance or rejection of St. Anselm's argument for the existence of God; see Gilson, *ibid.*, p. 135. The mutual relations of philosophy and theology are another case in point; see Gilson, *ibid.*, chapters II and XV in toto. Another instance of important differences inside the unity of the Church is the famous controversy on divine foreknowledge and premotion, in which the Augustinians and Thomists are united against the Molinists. In your issue for April-June, 1945 you speak on pp. 73 sqq. of what you call the eirenic method. It was in the belief that an appreciation of the important differences between various schools of thought within the Church will help to engender the habit of mind which you call eirenicism that I alluded to the matter in reviewing Dr. Lampert's book.

Yours, etc.,

FR. SEBASTIAN, O.F.M.Cap.

We agree with Fr. Sebastian that it is important for Catholics to appreciate the various differences of theological schools of thought within the unity of the Church.—EDITOR.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Orthodox Spirituality. By a Monk of the Eastern Church. (S.P.C.K. pp. 104. 5s).

The sub-title of this book is "An Outline of the Orthodox Ascetical and Mystical Tradition"; this does exactly explain what the book is. It is in fact the very best outline of the subject we have seen in English. It is one of the books that we would say were necessary for anyone, especially Catholics who want seriously to understand the Orthodox East. We have said specially Catholics, because the author

throughout makes comparison between the Orthodox and the Catholic spiritual traditions, without in any way denying the spiritual value of the Protestant or Anglican traditions (see introduction). For him the Christian West means Catholicism unless he states otherwise. In his "Bibliographical Note" a very complete list of Catholic periodicals and dictionaries as well as larger books are given for reference.

The introduction lays down two fundamental principles which are the basis of the whole book. These we will give in the author's own words: "The Orthodox Church, as a Church, has a definite teaching on ascetical and mystical questions, and this teaching is a tradition, handed down from the birth of Christianity to our own days. It is this tradition and not the personal theories, either of himself or of any arbitrarily chosen spiritual writer, however great, that the author has here tried to set forth." Then, having quoted St. John Chrysostom, St. Basil the Great and St. Gregory Nazianzen as outstanding teachers of the tradition of the Eastern Church, he goes on to say: "These Masters are common to East and West, although they had greater influence in the East. It cannot be too often repeated: there is no chasm between Eastern and Western Christianity. The fundamental principles of Christian spirituality are the same in the East and in the West; the methods are very often alike; the differences do not bear on the chief points. On the whole, there is one Christian spirituality with, here and there, some variations of stress and emphasis." These quotations are enough to show how important this book is in the cause of reunion.

The first chapter (21 pages) deals with the historic growth of Orthodox spirituality, the result of nineteen centuries of development to which various ethnic and cultural factors (Palestine, Syrian, Hellenism, Slavism, etc.), have contributed. Our author distinguishes six main elements in this development, viz.—scriptural; the primitive Christian (St. Ignatius of Antioch, Hermas and Justin and the early martyrs); the intellectual element; the early monastic element; the liturgical element; and the technical-contemplative element. In the second chapter (19 pages) *the essentials* are dealt with under seven headings: The aim and means of Christian life; Divine grace and human will; asceticism and mysticism; prayer and contemplation; the holy mysteries; the communion of saints; and the stages of the spiritual life.

The rest of the book (three more chapters) goes into a detailed consideration of baptism, confirmation and the Eucharist and the graces flowing from these sacraments—baptismal grace, pentecostal grace and paschal grace. This shows the importance that the author places on the liturgical element. It is here that we think the great value of this work lies. Most Westerners take for granted that, in general, the spiritual life of the Orthodox is more based on the liturgy than that of the Western Christian, at any rate at the present time, due largely to our individualistic background, however much a liturgical movement may be developing amongst us. Yet though, on the one hand, one can obtain translations of the texts of the liturgies and other Church offices, the only books in English (with the exception of Gogol's *Meditations on the Divine Liturgy*) dealing with Orthodox spirituality stress the individualistic side of Eastern spiritual life (the "Jesus Prayer," the lives of hermits, etc.) and one is left puzzled and perhaps disappointed. This book however takes the spiritual life as a whole, showing the relation of individual effort to the ever-present liturgical life of the Church and being able to do this not a little, we think, because throughout the Orthodox East is considered as a whole, and yet full value is given to the spiritual development of local theological schools and traditions. It is, of course, the only reasonable way of looking at Orthodoxy. This treatment had been taken before by Nicholas Arseniev in his *Mysticism and the Eastern Church* (first published in England in 1926), but in a more limited and, we might almost say, national way, in spite of the fact that he viewed the subject on a large canvas. The present book is a much more complete and balanced exposition.

If one wants to see the concrete representatives of the two most important elements in Orthodox spirituality—the liturgical element and the contemplative element—and that among Orthodox teachers since the schism, the names of Nicholas Cabasilas and Gregory Palamas stand out. Both were of the same century (fourteenth century) and it is interesting to note that though Nicholas Cabasilas was one of the greatest liturgical theologians, he was at the same time on the side of Gregory Palamas in the Hesychast controversy, which shows that Hesychasm is not a hindrance to a spiritual life built up on the liturgy. We think that a deeper study of the lives and writings of both these holy bishops would help

Catholics to understand the real soul of modern Orthodoxy. A knowledge of these two is just as important as a knowledge of St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Teresa is for the understanding of modern Western Catholicism. The parallel however must not be pushed too closely, but the works of both pairs are very strongly reflected in their respective Churches. Our author has given a very clear explanation of Hesychasm (pp. 19-21), and then a comparison with St. Teresa (28-30), in the course of which he gives this word of warning: "When we speak of Hesychasm, we must be careful to assign to each element its right proportions, and first to Hesychasm itself. Hesychasm in the Orthodox Church may be compared with the great Spanish school of mystics in the Latin Church of the sixteenth century. In both cases we find a remarkable endeavour to simplify and systematize the spiritual ways, to make them more practical and accessible. . . . But Symeon the New Theologian, Nicetas Stethatos and Gregory Palamas neither surpass nor supersede St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, St. Gregory Nazianzen and St. Gregory of Nyssa—the Fathers and most authorized interpreters, not only of Orthodox thought but of Orthodox piety as well. And beyond the contemplative mystics, beyond the Fathers themselves, the simple and pure Gospel remains central."

While as regards the liturgical element in Orthodox spirituality, a great deal of the book is devoted to its consideration. In explaining the Holy Mysteries our author says: "The Orthodox Church wants a mystery to remain a 'mystery,' and not to become a theorem, or a juridical institution. For the Orthodox Church is not only 'mysteric,' but 'pneumatic,' and the *Mysterion* is conditioned by the *Pneuma*, the spirit." This is particularly worked out in the three chapters: "The Baptizing Christ," "Christ the Sender of the Spirit," "Christ our Passover." So then these two most important elements have adequate treatment. And we think that for practical purposes the other elements mentioned are embraced under these two heads.

In conclusion, we recommend this book as one that gives a very excellent introduction to the spirit of Orthodoxy, and we hope that it will have a wide circulation. We would like to see a *students' edition* with all the references given, and one or two of the themes enlarged. In treating of Our Lady we think some space should have been given to Tradition and not only to the Gospels in describing Orthodox mariology.

Also surely the *Filioque* as well as the *Epiklesis* have a bearing on the spiritual life, hence the controversy, though this latter soon became sterile. We are pleased to see that both "sophiology" and the status of virginity and marriage are shown in their true perspective in Orthodox tradition.

And lastly it is with satisfaction that we learn that the manuscript was read by Archbishop Germanos of Thyateira and so receives his approval and blessing.

DOM BEDE WINSLOW.

The Study of St. Athanasius. An Inaugural Lecture delivered before the University of Oxford on 1st December, 1944, by F. L. Cross, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1945. Pp. 1-22.

This is an admirable introductory essay to the Study of the Works of St. Athanasius. The Lecturer covers an immense field, succinctly and clearly, and provides a working plan of real value to the student of Athanasius. The subject matter is treated under three main headings: History, Current Problems in Athanasian studies, The Outlook for the future. The History begins as a matter of course with that great Benedictine Montfaucon. Earlier history is summarized in passing, chiefly with a view to emphasizing the stupendous achievement of the Maurist. No greater praise can be given than that the text of Montfaucon for the greater part of the works of Athanasius is still unrivalled.

Modern research however has brought to light other recensions particularly of the *De Incarnatione* and *Contra Gentes*, but even here it is purely a matter of textual criticism and there is no question of spurious writings. A new discovery last century has also brought to light the so-called *Festal Epistles* known previously only in fragments embodied in other writers as Severus of Antioch and Cosmas Indicopleustes. The *Sermo Major de Fide* and *Expositio Fidei* have also undergone examination and analysis but without the final word being as yet said.

Prospects for the future in Athanasian Studies, as indeed for all Patrology, are of an encouraging nature. Specialists in many branches of knowledge add their quota to a growing mass of historical and textual criticism. Our approach to-day is many sided, but it is to be hoped that the study of the Means will not obscure the End. For the Catholic Theo-

logian, the Fathers are not merely an exercise in textual restoration, not even primarily sources of historical research. The object of the Fathers in writing must always, in the final analysis, be admitted as Theological in the truest and fullest sense of the term. It is not enough to know what Athanasius wrote, but why he wrote it and what his contribution has been to Theological thought. Those of us who follow the Faith of Athanasius can never stop short at the Text.

DOM ANSELM THATCHER.

Eastern Pilgrimage. By F. D. Bacon. (Lutterworth Press.) 5s. net.

Mr. Bacon has set out to give an historical and actual account of the Eastern churches in 100 pages. He has made a gallant attempt, and the book is useful for readers who know nothing of the subject and for them it is intended. But a word of warning is required. Such compression necessarily involves simplifications that are sometimes misleading; but over and above that Mr. Bacon's statements are sometimes erroneous. He is badly informed about the Roman Catholic Church, and excludes the "uniates" from consideration because "they are part of the Latin communion"! And his estimate of the spirit of the East takes into account only one aspect, or "school," of Orthodox thought. Chapter V appears to be misplaced; the Copts and the Ethiops are neither Byzantine nor Orthodox.

D.D.A.

A Short Life of Kierkegaard. By Walter Lowrie. (Oxford University Press). 12s. 6d.

Dr. Lowrie has done much to make Kierkegaard known to the English-speaking world. In 1938 he published a long biography of his author in which, through lengthy quotations, he attempted to introduce Kierkegaard to a public knowing nothing of him. Since then, the situation has changed, and no one can now afford to neglect this nineteenth-century Danish thinker, with a world-wide reputation.

The smaller book now published—about half the price of the earlier volume—is not only an introduction for anyone approaching Kierkegaard for the first time, but it is also a refreshing essay for readers already familiar with his works.

Dr. Lowrie knows Kierkegaard better than most men, and in this short volume the reader may meet Kierkegaard with the help of a most capable interpreter.

F.A.W.

Dispensation in Practice and Theory with special reference to the Anglican Churches. The Report of a Commission appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1935 under the Chairmanship of Edwin James Palmer, D.D., sometime Bishop of Bombay. (S.P.C.K., London). 1944. Pp. xv, 181.

The Commission entrusted with this Report is the outcome of a resolution of the Lambeth Conference of 1934 dealing with the need for a study of Dispensation as defined and used in the Anglican Communion.

The Report consists of two main divisions, Historical Review and the Majority Report to which are added two Minority Reports of members who found themselves unable to subscribe to the Majority.

The Historical review treats of Dispensation both in the Western and Eastern Churches. With regard to the West we have a summary which will be familiar to most students of the Sources of Canon Law. Dispensation or *Oikonomia* from the Orthodox point of view is discussed by extracts from an essay on the subject by Professor Alivisatos of the University of Athens. A further section deals with Dispensation in post Reformation England dating from the Dispen-sations Act, 25 Henry VIII, c. 21, and the Submission of the Clergy and Restraint of Appeals Act, *ibid.*, c. 19. The point of departure is of course the denial of the *Plenitudo Potestatis* of the Papacy. As in the case of the Orthodox Churches, Authority is finally vested in the Synod, so in the Anglican Churches, it passes under Henry to the Archbishop as presumably representative of the corporate authority of the Episcopacy. Two Appendices treat of the History of the practice of Ecclesiastical dispensation contributed by Bishop W. H. Frere, and Dispensation in the Old Catholic Systems by Bishop Kury.

The Majority Report deals in extenso with the idea of Dispensation and its approximates as License, Determinations etc., before discussing the problem of Authority and the reiteration of the supreme authority of the Episcopate as

opposed to Papal plenitude of Jurisdiction. The Sphere of Dispensation is then reviewed both in general and particular as in the case of matters concerning Doctrine or the Sacraments. The Report finally ends with various Recommendations.

The reaction of a Catholic on reading this Report cannot but be one almost of bewilderment. If ever a need for Supreme, Infallible Authority is felt, it is precisely in this matter of Dispensation and particularly in those cases touching upon Doctrine. For those of us accustomed to the Codification of Canons ; the distinctions of various kinds of Law ; the complete certainty and unity of a corpus of doctrine, it is almost impossible to enter into the minds of those whom the Commission doubtless represents. A typical case arises concerning the Matter of the Eucharist. Dealing with Dispensations granted *de facto*, the Report quotes a dispensation granted by the Bishop of Uganda (Dr. A. R. Tucker) with regard to the Matter of the Eucharist, authorizing a substitution of plantain bread and banana juice in the place of bread and wine. The Findings of the Report in this particular case of the Eucharist treats of the Matter, Form and Minister of this Sacrament as a "controversial example." It seems impossible to legislate or even recommend tentative legislation when there is no agreement on such fundamental principles as the Sacraments. The explanation of the definition of Matter and Form in each individual Sacrament may not always be supremely obvious, although such is not the case with the Eucharist ; but at least in the Roman system, the Sacrament is preserved in its integrity by complete insistence on Tradition and Rite. The general impression gained by the Findings of the Report is that of another Anglican compromise. In actual effect it does not seem a matter of practical politics except possibly in those cases that concern the professional clergy. A dispensation from fasting, to take an example at random, does not appear to have much weight when it is a matter of common experience that many a good communicant considers Fasting little short of a superstitious practice.

In the Minority Reports, the Bishop of Oxford and Dr. Sparrow-Simpson disassociate themselves from the Commission, the former owing to ill-health and consequent non-attendance and the latter chiefly in the matter of the absolute necessity of a validly ordained minister of the Eucharist.

S.A.T.

The Eastern Ritual. By Father Joseph P. Hanulya. (2408 West 14th Street, Cleveland, Ohio). \$1.

In our issue of July 1944 we reviewed Father Grigassy's prayer-book for Rusins in America. We have now received a popular account, by their pastor at Cleveland, of the services and observances of the Slav-Byzantine rite according to the usages of the same American Rusins. It is intended for the faithful of that church, but will also be of use and interest to others who have some antecedent knowledge of the subject. We could have wished that here and there Father Hanulya had given a little more explicit factual information, even if it meant reducing the number of "symbolical meanings," some of them fanciful and of doubtful value, which have been included in very generous measure.

There are two unusual and welcome features in this brochure. One is a perpetual kalendar according to the Julian computation of Easter. The other is a glossary of ecclesiastical terms with their Greek and (transliterated) Arabic equivalents. Slavonic terms are given in the text, where they are usually rendered into terms of the Latin rite ("Mass" for "Liturgy," "sacrament" for "mystery," etc.). There is also a number of interesting illustrations.

D.D.A.

Liturgical Week-end. Easter, 1944. (Society of the Magnificat). pp. 35. 2s.

This booklet gives the papers read at a conference held at Campion Hall, Oxford. The contents consist of three (the first seems to be divided into three parts) most excellent papers by Dom V. Le Jeune, O.S.B.—(The Living Temple, The Living Altar, The Living Amen); Father Conrad Pepler, O.P.—(Concerning the worship of images); Father Gerard Meath, O.P.—(The Liturgist's Charter), and they conclude with some interesting but rambling remarks on "The Divine Office and the Laity" by Mr. Lancelot Sheppard. These papers do go to the heart of the Liturgy showing the real spiritual force and life that is there.

Father Meath shows that far from condemning the Liturgical Movement, the *Mystici Corporis* of Pope Pius XII should be considered as the *charter* of the movement;—it both relates private prayer with the liturgy and liturgical life with one's everyday work and contacts with our fellow men.

Father Pepler aims in his paper at explaining how one should regulate the Christian honour paid to material things in relation to their spiritual counterparts, and it is done in a masterly way. A paper that should be read and meditated on by all Christian artists and others.

Dom Le Jeune's papers are really an analysis of the Mass of the Dedication of a church.

We congratulate the Society of the Magnificat in having these conferences and we recommend them to all working in the cause of Christian unity. It is indeed this deepening of Catholicity that we want.

B.W.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Mowbray: *The Consecration of Matthew Parker*. J. C. Whitebrook.
Carwal Publications Ltd.: *Pax Christi*. Albert D. Belden.